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F-MEA-84-034 17 Feb 84

## **ALGERIA**

Messaadia Returns From Andropov's Funeral LD161056 Algiers APS in English 1005 GMT 16 Feb 84

[Text] Algiers 16 Feb (APS) — Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, Politburo member head of the Central Committee Permanent Secretariat returned to Algiers yesterday from Moscow where he attended obsequies of Mr Yuriy Andropov.

LIBYA PE PS 65 FOR Further Materials on General People's Congress

Al-Oadhdhafi 15 Feb Address

LD161811 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 0915 GMT 15 Feb 84

[Speech by Mu'ammar al-Qadh haff at morning session of General People's Congress meeting in Tripoli — live]

[Excerpts] There is controversy regarding the law of the armed people. The armed people's law in this form is a great (?mistake). It cannot remain in this form because the people rejected the establishment of an armed people in the people's congresses and preferred to remain in the situation that existed before, namely compulsory conscription, compulsory enlisting, and compulsory guidance. It did not say armed men but the armed people, and people means men and women.

You cannot enter a battle as a spectator, especially because as a population your number is still small. We are forced to enlist everyone who is able to carry arms. The Israelis have enlisted men and women because their number is small, and that is why they defeated [word indistinct]. You, the Libyan people, are a great people. Men and women have to be enlisted to maintain your existence on Libyan soil, not to liberate the Arab nation or Palestine. When the U.S. fleets came to you in the Gulf of Sidra, it was not we who went to U.S. shores; they came to you. You did not cross the sea to France; they came to Aozou inside Libyan territory. Egypt brought its Army and massed it near the Libyan border; it was not you who went to occupy Egypt. It is all in defense of your existence.

I don't advise that you raise your voices or enter into any confrontation with other delegates. If you are not capable, then prepare a mighty military force capable of defeating even the United States. With the Air Force or with missiles, you must be able to either destroy the U.S. 6th Fleet or inflict damage on it. This will make the United States accept an end to war, because it is going to strike at you shamelessly. It has reached a level of madness and impudence. [Words indistinct] shelling villages, farms, animals and livestock, and Arab families in Lebanon, which is a foot long. [as heard] These guns were originally to be used against the Soviet Union when they were made by the United States; it did not make them for use against the Druze or the [words indistinct] Sunnis. Therefore, the United States will have no scruples regarding shelling any Libyan town [words indistinct] they will stay 40 km away and shell you. However, at

a distance of 40 km we can destroy them, but when they are at a distance of 200 or 400 km and fire their missiles at you from the middle of the sea, we would need a long hand and [word indistinct] weapon in order to inflict damage on the U.S. fleet.

A number of draft laws submitted by the leaderships, that is, the secretariat of the General People's Congress and the General People's Committee, have been defeated at the basic popular congresses.

There are differences; it is feared there are differences on the draft law for an armed people. The draft law for an armed people has suffered a heavy defeat, and it cannot be issued in this form because the people have rejected the setting up of an armed people at the [local or basic] popular congresses and preferred the statu quo, that is, conscription, mandatory military service.

This law cannot then be issued; no armed people but armed men, and I hope we will find them. This requires an end to the program of military training in all the girls schools and girls institutes. Therefore, starting the first of next month, I will issue an order to the Armed Forces to stop the general military training in girls schools and girls institutes and make this effort available for the training of boys. Women will be ineligible [for military service] because, since you have said to us that military service must be optional, there there is no reason for training them.

Arab states promised to contribute to the realization of the artificial river [project to bring water from south to plains of the north via pipelines], but so far they have given nothing. Naturally the Arab states are contributing to the American and Israeli economies; they are contributing to turning the Neguev Desert in occupied Palestine into a land for the settlement of 12 million Jews, because Arabs are investing their money in American banks, and American banks are Israeli banks, and their interest goes to the Israelis to reclaim the Neguev for the settlement of Jews to kill the Arabs. They do not contribute to the Libyan people to reclaim the Arab desert.

I am going to speak about foreign issues. Foreign policy issues have also not been clearly put across. I believe that our late friend Yuriy Andropov died during the conference and we should stand for a minute in mourning. [1 minute's silence]

There is no Arab unity [words indistinct]. There is a real danger. I told them: Brothers, a real danger is going to engulf you. When I spoke to the King of Morocco and told him there is a danger, he said: Look, I am fighting in the Sahara and you are fighting me in the Sahara; I am fighting in the Sahara and you want me to fight with you in Palestine, this cannot be done. I told him: First, to whom does the Sahara belong? Why are you fighting in the Sahara in the first place? You could have left the Sahara and fought in Palestine. He said: No, the Sahara is part of my territory, and (?you can see my people). I met trade union and party leaders. Some of those I met were from the opposition and some from the government, but they unanimously said that the Sahara is Moroccan.

At any rate, I told the king: Since there is a people that has said no, I am not part of Morocco; I cannot agree to the Sahara's being annexed by force. He said: Look, if you do not agree to my

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annexing it by force, then do not help the Saharan people to secede from me by force. What matters is that he said: If you are talking about Palestine and the liberation and unification of the Arab nation, then leave me alone regarding the problem of the Sahara; I have 80,000 troops in the Sahara; leave me alone in the Sahara and take them with you and use them in the fighting for Palestine. This is what he said precisely, 80,000. This is what he said. It is up to him whether he remembers saying it or not, but this is what he said to me.

The Saudis, they responded at that time. They said: This is a real danger and your analysis is right and we must undertake everything necessary. That was just talk, general talk. Jordan is the one I found linking its fate with that of Iraq, betraying Syria, the cause, and the region.

I found that there was no possibility of reconciliation between Syria and Jordan, and I found him interested in the intervention force that America has promised him. America seeks to set up a Jordanian intervention force with American weapons in order to fulfill American objectives instead of the American Army.

When I went to Algeria, I found that in Algeria they are ready for the construction of the Greater Arab Maghreb, and Chadli Bendjedid spoke precisely about one flag, one parliament, and things of this sort, and one motto for the Greater Arab Maghreb. But in Algeria, when I saw them later, I found that they were retreating somehow; they were not as they were at the beginning.

Thus the question is one of preserving a minimum of unity of the Arab nation, and the program I have proposed was their own program which they have had for a long time. They said no to revolutionary unity, no to an integration-type unity, no to quick unity; they said that unity can be come on a step-by-step basis starting with economic unity.

This theory of theirs, the step-by-step approach, we have accepted. We have accepted economic unity; we have accepted starting with economic integration; we have accepted the step-by-step approach, and we continue to test them. This is the last arrow in their quiver; I am saying this for the second time, and they are hearing it. It is the last thing in their quiver. If unity is not achieved between Libya and Tunisia with the step-by-step approach, by economic integration, then there will be no excuse for those who oppose revolutionary unity, unity by revolution, integration-type unity.

The idea I have put across to the Arabs is that the Libyan General People's Committee should meet its equivalents in the Arab countries periodically, every 6 months; for instance starting with Tunisia and Libya, then Libya and Morocco, with the possibility of a meeting in the future between Tunisian and Moroccan ministers and the Libyan people's committee, in a common meeting of the three regions, a meeting of an executive body. If this goes on every 6 months, then they meet, they make a common decision, and they implement it in their respective countries. This action would not be a waste of time; it would advance Arab unity.

At this moment work with Tunisia is going on very well, and there was a meeting with Morocco recently. There has been just one meeting with Algeria, but this program has been impeded by the

Algerian side. The Algerian National Assembly was supposed to take part with us in the General People's Congress, but it failed to come to the meeting twice or three times. Our brothers in Algeria make excuses that not enough has been forthcoming from the Libyan side; but I wish the shortcomings were on the Libyan side so that we could deal with them and quickly revive the common program. The Algerian Council of Ministers was supposed to meet in Libya with the General People's Committee after the meeting of the General People's Committee with the Algerian cabinet in Algiers, but this failed to take palce.

I for one do not openly incite for revolution against a regime that decides to go along with me on the road to unity, but if the inhabitants of a country decide on a revolution [words indistinct] we are on the side of the revolution. But we do not go to Tunisia to organize Tunisian secret revolutionary committees and tell them to engage in a revolution, or go to Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, or any other country and set up secret revolutionary committees there. If youths in these countries set up secret revolutionary committees to stage a popular revolution, this is their business, and we hope there will popular revolutions in all the Arab homeland and throughout the world, that peoples will triumph.

If these regimes go along with us, by God, we are even prepared to protect them. You must protect the Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Mauritanian, and any other Arab regime that follows the road to unity and liberation; and you must not conspire or transgress against such a regime.

I told Morocco: If you are going along with me for the liberation of Palestine and on the road to unity, then I will not supply arms to the Polisario any more. But the Polisario question remains an entire people's question. I do not agree that it should be trampled under foot, evicted by force, or annexed by force. At the same time, and as a matter of fact like any other unionist, I would not like to see the emergence of a new Arab state.

I made a proposal to the Polisario: Stay as an opposition; rule your country with self-determination; stay even as an armed opposition inside Morocco, but what matters is that you stay as one state. They said: No, full independence or [words indistinct]. Now, our brothers in the Polisario are excellent revolutionaries and friends of ours, but a state consisting of a few thousand people in this region — what is its fate going to be in the future when Mohamed Abdelaziz, Mohamed Lamine, and Bashir ar-Rugaybi are no longer there?

Husni Mubarak's visit to Morocco is considered a blow to solidrity, a blow to all that we agreed upon. It is considered perfidious. I reject it and do not accept it, and excuses that he came [words indistinct] means that we are regarded as children, that the Arabs are stupid. It belittles Arab mentality, [words indistinct]. When someone who has recognized the enemy visits an Arab state, this is a violation of the Arab League Charter, a violation of the resolutions of the Baghdad summit, and a boost for the enemy. What is worse is that last night, in all insolence, the king of Jordan, the Egyptian president, and their master, Reagan, boastfully showed their faces to the Arabs on the artificial satellite. What does this mean? This is a great conspiracy; everything is in favor of the Israelis; everything now taking place is against the Arabs.

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The sole positive point is the victory of the nationalist forces in Lebanon against the NATO forces and their forcing them to flee. [applause] We are neither afraid nor are we hesitating to fight against the NATO forces in Lebanon, anywhere, side by side. We are prepared to fight as volunteers, as regular forces. We give our money, our rifles, everything we have in the fight against the NATO forces. We do not at all recognize their presence on Arab land; they are not peace forces, they are colonial forces. They have fled, and (?after our threats), they have refrained from shelling. Yesterday they used a small ship, but (?shelling) might resume again. I tell you the truth: One must not remain silent about the shelling by the American fleet of the Arab [words indistinct]. We do not accept a ship like the New Jersey...[sentence not completed]

Amid these problems we have allied ourselves with the Lebanese National Salvation Front, and our position is clear toward the Phalangists. We consider them part of the Israeli-American camp. Amin al-Jumayyil made contact from Morocco and said: I am coming to you. As a matter of fact, it was [word indistinct] for one to receive Amin al-Jumayyil of the Phalangists. But he asked to come and I agreed to this. 'Abd as-Salam Jallud met him at the airport and he came to me.

What I say is that Amin al-Jumayyil is different from Bashir al-Jumayyil; he is different from his father too. Bashir al-Jumayyil was the butcher who commanded the Phalangists; he is the one that was killed. As for Amin al-Jumayyil, his brother, he was against Bashir. Furthermore, Amin is a good man, not made for politics or things like that.

When he came to me, he came as an Arab youth, having faith in his Arabism and in that of Lebanon. He came to me as someone speaking about a Maronite nation or about the Phalangists. He considered the Israelis an enemy in view of the fact that we are Arabs — this is what he said to me — and America is an enemy to us because we are Arabs and Lebanon is Arab. He said: I do not want to fight; I am a man who has inheritated this problem, and Lebanon is in its death throes, so please find a settlement. We have no one but you — and words of this kind. He added: I wanted to see you and meet you; I am a peaceful man, I do not hate my Arab brothers and I would like you to help me. This is what he said to me.

Naturally, as for all that was said by the Arabs, you must differentiate between words and the deeds taking place afterwards. After I saw Saudi Arabia and Morocco and many countries, I saw matters taking on objectionable orientations; different from what I was told. And Amin al-Jumayyil said this to me.

I told him my opinion. I told him: First you seek the withdrawal of the NATO forces, as they are forces hostile to us, and ask for UN forces from small states. And this is the idea that is being realized. The proposal I made to him is now being carried out.

But I had another condition. I told him: These forces must not come as a mediator between you and our people. They should superivse the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from southern Lebanon. This is also difficult, because he said: There is fighting between myself and the nationalist forces in Lebanon,

and who will guarantee my security? [words indistinct] I told him the Lebanese question is between the regime in power and the people; the Arabs should set up security forces to stop the fighting inside Lebanon and prevent the Druze, the Shi'ites, and the Lebanese Army from fighting one another, until such a time that the Lebanese question is resolved in a radical and democratic manner. You will have an opportunity for dialogue as sects and as Lebanese in order to resolve your problem [words indistinct].

I also told him to abrogate the accord signed between him and the Israelis. His opinion on this subject was, as he said to me: This agreement is considered to be frozen, and I will act to abrogate it as time passes. Help me to abrogate it.

I told him: I cannot support you because you are the chairman of the Phalangists and the Phalangists are allied with the Israelis and with Americans who kill the Lebanese people. You are against the Lebanese people. How can I back you while you are fighting your own people?

There will probably be an agreement in Lebanon on a new, neutral person. But the heads of the Phalangists are involved in a war with other parties in Lebanon. He could be a Christian, but not a Phalangist; he could be a Muslim, but not Walid Junblatt.

The Druze are a religious sect, true Arabs, but from the religious point of view, they resemble the Shi'ites or the Sunnis. It is a Druze sect, a religious denomination only. They are genuine Arab tribes. They have shown courage worthy of appreciation. [appluase]

In that region they speak about Shi'ites, Druze, and Sunnis, but we here do not have this. We know only that a Muslim is a Muslim. Over there are Arabs who are not Muslims, and we used to believe that an Arab is a Muslim and that we do not have these sects. But it is God's will that this exists in the Arab arena.

The second faction is the Shi'ites. The Shi'ites have been crushed and vanquished all their lives in Lebanon, so much so that by now they have become [words indistinct]. They have become closer to the Israelis than to the Arabs. The Shi'ites fought (?with Sa'd Haddad) and even on the side of the Israelis. This is because of the injustice and oppression they suffer in Lebanon where they are called weaklings, the poor, and [word indistinct].

The shah of Iran installed Musa as-Sadr over them so that he would have an agent in Lebanon. Of course, this kind of talk could explode the situation or arouse a storm in Lebanon. I intentionally want to say it this time, most clearly. This is because henceforth the [word indistinct] no longer cares about As-Sadr. A thousand As-Sadrs have died in Lebanon and in the Arab homeland, but we did not mourn them. Why should we mourn for Musa as-Sadr, the agent of the shah, whom he installed in the Middle East and [words indistinct]?

If As-Sadr has disappeared — it does not concern us whether he disappeared or not, or whether he will reappear on doomsday or now, or whether, God willing, he is still alive and will return. We wish him safety if he is still alive and wish him mercy if he is dead.

I did not see Musa as-Sadr when he came to Libya, and I became angry because I did not meet with him on the first or second day after his arrival. So he took the plane and left for Italy. We have been exerting all our efforts to find out what happened to this man.

Anyway, Libya has offered men, martyrs, and unlimited arms and money for the battles. This is our duty. It is not a favor or a grant. It is our duty of self-defense. We have fought in Lebanon. Libya feels proud of fighting on the side of our brothers. Hence we do not want to hear anyone try to defame the Libyan people after all these sacrifices and this unlimited giving by referring to one Musa as-Sadr who has died or disappeared. He was an agent who sold himself to the shah. He was a sectarian [words indistinct].

The Shi'ites and non-Shi'ites in Lebanon must always remember the Libyan people because they are the people who gave more than anybody else in this arena. They have offered men, money, and arms. They offered political and startegic stands to Lebanon. We were the ones who said that the NATO forces are not forces of peace and should leave. We were the ones who said that they should be attacked and thus they were attacked. We shoulder all responsibility for this. We advocate war against these forces if they return and we will fight them just as we fight the Israeli forces. [applause]

Thanks to the courage of the Druze, the Shi'ites joined the fighting led by the Amal Movement, which is headed by an young Arab man who is unlike Musa as-Sadr, who was an Iranian sent by the shah. Nabih Birri, who is now leading the Shi'ites through the Amal organization, is an Arab. [applause] He has no quarrel with us or enmity. He is a brother whom we support and we are ready to fight on his side.

We have no problem with Iran, revolutionary Iran. We and they are allied in self-defense. We have no problem with the Shi'ites. Thus we can no longer accept seeing the question of Musa as-Sadr crop up in the relations between us and our brothers. Anyone who raises this question in Lebanon is an filthy infiltrating agent who belongs to As-Sadat or the Mosad.

The Shi'ites have played a role in achieving the latest victory. Nabih Birri addressed an appeal to the Shi'ite officers and men fighting within the ranks of the Lebanese Army. These officers and men joined the National Lebanese Salvation Front and thus caused the stand of the Lebanese Army to collapse on the Al-Jabal, and they moved to Beirut.

But we regret to say that our brothers in Lebanon, the Sunni factions, should be the ones to have joined the Salvation Front. All the Sunni officers and men in the Lebanese Army should desert the Army and join the national forces so that victory will be decisive. It is a shame, disgraceful, and ungodly that the Muslim Sunnis should continue to fight on the side of the Phalangists and on the side of the Israelis and Americans against their Muslim brethren. Whether they kill or get killed, they will end up in hell. This is the fate of the Sunni who is now fighting in Lebanon.

We here in Libya are Muslims without sects, but according to tradition, we in Libya are Sunnis. The Sunnis in Lebanon are part of us from the ideological point of view. Therefore, we are calling on the Lebanese Sunnis to join the side of the nationalist movement and we urge the Sunni troops and Sunni officers in the Lebanese Army to carry their arms and join their Shi'ite and Druze brothers in the nationalist movement which comprises the Socialist Union and the Syrian Socialist Party, The Ba'th organization, and the Lebanese Communist Party. This movement is the true supporter or the Palestine resistance movement.

Anyway, there are contacts going on at present between me and Al-Jumayyil. Daily I ask him to tell the Americans to halt the New Jersey's bombardment of the Lebanese villages; otherwise, grave complications might result. An act of revenge might be committed against your Christians in Lebanon at the hands of the Muslims and the Arabs as a means of pressure so that the New Jersey will stop its bombardment.

Perhaps some such approach has been made. Since then, the *New Jersey* has halted its bombardment of Lebanon. Amin al-Jumayyil still says: Help me and do not let them pressure me. I say to him: Disengage yourself from the foreign forces and then we will be prepared to cooperate with you. But the best thing for a good young man like Amin al-Jumayyil is to resign so that he can create a breakthrough in the crisis and a new president can be chosen who, at the present stage, could be a Christian, provided he is not a Phalangist, and so that a new Lebanese army will be formed of all factions, and sectarian divisions are abolished.

But in any case, our position will be firmly on the side of the national Lebanese forces to assert the Arab character of Lebanon and to rout the NATO aggression, the crusade aggression, and the Israeli aggression.

The battle against the Israelis must continue. You must be ready to fight the Israelis in Lebanon and in Palestine, for they are the cause of all the problems. [words indistinct]

As for Yasir 'Arafat, there are some points we wish to explain to you once and for all. As for Yasir 'Arafat, we have no personal enmity against him, but we do have political differences with him. Yasir 'Arafat is the person responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres and for the departure from Lebanon, from Beirut. He is responsible for the policy that misused the Palestinian question. These words are not mine but were said by our brothers who set him up as chairman and who later rebelled against and toppled him.

I once told him here in this place: O Abu Ammar, I will not consider you a traitor unless the Palestinians consider you to be one. The Palestinians cannot be with you when you, as their leader, were a traitor. Today all the Palestinians consider Abu Ammar a traitor. Thus, Abu Ammiar is a traitor.

Finally, I come to Chad. The wars taking place in Chad every now and then are directed against Libya through Chad. Let us take, for example, the Sudan. The Government of Sudan does not differentiate much between Habre and Goukouni. But it wants to fight Libya through Chad. Thus, it supports the side V. 17 Feb 84

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which Libya does not support. Had Libya been against Goukouni, Sudan would support him. Thus Sudan's position is to fight Libya through Chad. Do not listen to anything else.

Egypt's stand on the side of Habre is exactly like that of Sudan; it is supporting Sudan and the war against Libya through Chad.

The United States, which brought arms and trainers and which was about to occupy Chad, cares nothing about Chad or Habre. It realizes he is not a strong ally. But America is also fighting Libya through Chad and is fighting Africa through Chad, where it wants to set up a military base to threaten all the countries adjoining Chad.

France does not want the United States to take the initiative from it in Africa. For this reason, France intervened in Chad. It was also prompted by the fear of losting its friends in Africa who are afraid they will meet a fate similar to that of Habre. Consequently, France has embroiled itself. France is now trapped in Chad, and it has no alternative but to withdraw or accept a long war like the Algerian war.

We are fighting and defending while our backs are to the wall. It is the wall of Tibesti. We rely on this wall in our fighting. If France has the right to fight in Tibesti, then it is more likely that we should have the right to be martyred.

If France has come from across the sea to Chad to fight us at Tibesti, why should we then stay back in our homes? We have the right before France and before the United States. If the United States comes across the Atlantic to Chad, then we must be prepared to fight in Chad with our forces or by supporting the forces of Goukouni, or by supporting the Chadian people, because most of the wars in Chad are directed against Libya but with Chad used for the purpose.

In fact, we have nothing against Habre as an individual. There is no difference between Habre and Goukouni. All of them are our brothers and they are Muslims and both come from the northern part. But Habre has allied himself with our enemies. Hence we must take a stand against him. Just as Goukouni allied himself with their enemy, with Libya, the enemy of the United States and Israel and the reactionaries, the United States allied itself and so did the Israelis and the reactionaries with Habre.

But in all conditions, our position toward Goukouni and his brothers should be a firm one free from any betrayal. We have fought on their side and we have offered sacrifices for their sake. They should not be caused to deny us this favor.

However, whatever the conditions, Chad is of concern to us particularly since the big powers use Chad to fight us and after the reactionary countries fight us through Chad. The Israelis too fight us through Chad.

But why do they fight Libya and why do they all use Chad, other countries, and the Gulf of Sidra to fight Libya? Because Libya is the only voice in the Arab homeland which is urging liberation and unity and because there is no other voice at all in the Arab homeland at present. I would like all to listen to the speeches of the Arab heads of state. I defy them to look into their newspapers

and listen to their official radios: Can you find one paper mentioning the liberation of Palestine or the unity of the Arab nation from the Gulf to the ocean, or even the word "socialism," or even blowing a rasberry to America? None of them dares do so.

It is your duty to face up to the challenge in Chad [words indistinct]. Even if the question of Chad was not one of security to us, it is one of dignity, after all, even if we were to disregard all other factors. After all, it is one of challenge. If France has the right to enter Chad, then how can it be that we do not have the right to enter? Then let the challenge begin in Chad. You must prepare yourselves for this challenge, because the battle in Chad is one of the battles which, as I said, becomes necessary. I do not mean a battle only with tanks and guns but a battle in the full sense of the word in Chad. From the point of view of national dignity in front of the world, in addition to the security aspect, the battle in Chad has become essential and we must not retreat from it one inch.

We do not seek wars and [words indistinct], but we cannot retreat
— not at all — because we are brothers defending our lands. If
anyone commits aggression against your land, you must find the
means to retaliate against him. Even if the American fleet
bombards you, you must pounce on it with all your might and
with sacrifices so that you can destroy it before the eyes of the
world. This is bound to happen and you must be ready for it.

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Resolutions Issued (GovERnment)

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[All numbering of sections as heard]

CAT 192 (Cubinut)

[Resolutions adopted by General People's Congress during ninth regular session held 11-16 February 1984 in Tripoli]

[Excerpts] I. Part 1: Review of the Resolutions of the Basic People's Congresses in Their Third Regular Session in 1982 as Formulated by the General People's Congress During its Eighth Regular Session in 1983:

The basic people's congresses have followed up their resolutions and affirmed them and expressed satisfaction with what has been implemented concerning them. They affirm the need for the implementation of those parts that have not yet been implemented, particularly the following resolutions:

- 1. The finding of employment for students.
- 2. Reduction of the number of people employed by the people's administration and their direction for work at production centers.
- 3. Reduction of the number of foreign workers.
- 4. Foreign travel allowances.
- 5. The total mobilization program.
- 6. Paying attention to the marketing of agricultural produce.

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